# THE STRUGGLE OF THE ACEH DAYAH ULAMA ASSOCIATION (HUDA) IN PRESERVING THE DOCTRINE OF AHLUSUNNAH WALJAMAAH IN ACEH

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**Abstract:** This study discusses the Aceh Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA), which traditionalist Islamic groups use as an organization that maintains the dominant Islamic ideology by using the dayah network as the basis of the religious movement. By using the theory of religious movement, through participatory observations, indepth interviews with HUDA administrators and the Acehnese people as well as a study of the literature, this paper ultimately demonstrates the ability of the dayah ulama to use HUDA as networking among the dayah scholars as evidence of a scientific genealogy among the Dayah scholars in Aceh. In addition, HUDA is used by dayah ulama to strengthen the hegemony of traditionalist Islam as a group that has religious authority amid the rise of Wahhabi-Salafi schools in Aceh and as political bargaining with the government to determine the direction of government policy in religious matters.

**Abstrak:** Kajian ini membahas tentang Himpunan Ulama Dayah Aceh (HUDA) yang digunakan oleh kelompok Islam tradisionalis sebagai organisasi yang mempertahankan ideologi Islam dominan dengan menggunakan jaringan dayah sebagai basis gerakan keagamaan. Dengan menggunakan teori religious movement, melalui observasi partisipatoris, wawancara mendalam kepada pengurus HUDA dan masyarakat Aceh serta studi kepustakaan, tulisan ini pada akhirnya menunjukkan kemampuan ulama dayah menggunakan HUDA sebagai *networking* antar ulama dayah sebagai bukti adanya genealogi keilmuan di kalangan ulama Dayah di Aceh. Di samping itu, HUDA digunakan oleh ulama dayah untuk memperkuat hegemoni Islam tradisionalis sebagai kelompok yang mempunyai otoritas keagamaan di tengah-tengah maraknya aliran Wahabi-Salafi di Aceh serta sebagai *bargaining* politik dengan pemerintah untuk menentukan arah kebijakan pemerintah dalam hal persoalan keagamaan.

Keywords: Ulama, Religious Social Movement, Aswaja, Aceh, Indonesia

Syafieh & Afrizal Nur: The Struggle of The Aceh Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA)

## Introduction

This study discusses the movement of the Dayah ulama in Aceh in preserving the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah*.<sup>1</sup> Located at the Syiah Kuala Graveyard of Banda Aceh on the 4th of Jumadil Akhir 1420 H, coinciding with the 14 September 1999 AD and domiciled in Aceh Province, an agreement was reached by the dayah ulama in Aceh to establish an organization that is ready to accommodate the aspirations of the people and fight to resolve long-standing conflicts. The organization in question was named HUDA (Aceh Dayah Ulama Association).<sup>2</sup> The birth of this HUDA organization, in addition to political interests in conflict resolution in Aceh, is also an effort to maintain the honour of the Dayah ulama in Aceh, namely to preserve the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah*.

The existence of HUDA is still reasonably considered by the people of Aceh. Public recognition of the existence of HUDA is influenced by several factors, including, *First,* the existence of historical legitimacy. Historically, the position of the ulama in the life of the Acehnese people was quite central in the past.<sup>3</sup>*Second* sociological legitimacy. Ulama are a social elite group with a solid legitimacy base, often even more potent than the government.<sup>4</sup> For most Acehnese, obedience to the ulama manifests as obedience to the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> *Third,* Juridical Legitimacy. Although it is a socio-religious movement, HUDA's position in juridical legitimacy is as a partner of the Ulama Consultative Council (MPU) in drafting laws. The MPU has juridical legitimacy in its duties and functions as a government partner institution, including participating in legal legislation.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of its establishment, the HUDA ulama movement was never separated from the Aceh political problems that occurred at that time. HUDA was formed amid an armed conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the central government. The armed conflict ended after the peace between the two parties, which was marked by the signing of the Helsinki MoU on August 15, 2005.<sup>7</sup> One of HUDA's demands at that time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khairil Miswar, "Wahhábi Dalam Perspektif HUDA Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Keagamaan Di Aceh," *Tadabbur: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 2, no. 1 (2020): 1–27, https://doi.org/10.22373/tadabbur.v2i1.57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh" (Ph.D Diss., UIN Sumatera Utara, 2019), 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Yusny Saby, "The Ulama in Aceh: A Brief Historical Survey," *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Abidin Nurdin, "Reposisi Peran Ulama Dalam Penerapan Syariat Islam Diaceh," *Al-Qalam* 18, no. 1 (2016): 54–65, https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v18i1.244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Abidin Murdin, "Ulama Dan Proses Legislasi: Mengkaji Legitimasi Lembaga Ulama Aceh," in *Serambi Mekkah Yang Berubah*, ed. Arskal Salam and Adlin Sila (Tanggerang: Pustaka Alvabet, 2010), 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nurlaila Nurlaila and Zulihafnani Zulihafnani, "Pengaruh Fatwa Ulama Dayah Dalam Masyarakat Aceh," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 21, no. 2 (2019): 93–03, https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v21i2.3742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Kirsten E. Schulze, "The Struggle for an Independent Aceh: The Ideology, Capacity, and

was to demand legal justice for the victims of the military operation in Aceh, to create a sovereign and dignified Aceh, to realize Islamic law, and to ask the central government to immediately hold a referendum and public opinion.<sup>8</sup>

After the conflict ended in Aceh, HUDA was used by traditionalist Islamic groups as an organization that defended the dominant Islamic ideology by using the *dayah* as the basis for religious movements. This shift in the direction of the HUDA organization's movement from the political to the socio-religious realm is not without reason. Dayah scholars see that the existence of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* in Aceh has recently become increasingly worried with the emergence of various deviant sects targeting the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* to be part of them.<sup>9</sup> The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (*HTI*) and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI).

Researchers have conducted many types of research on the social movements of the dayah ulama have been carried out by researchers. Almost all researchers place the central role of Acehnese dayah ulama in various lines of Acehnese life, including in the political field. Sahlan saw that in every critical period of Aceh's history, the ulama were always present as a force that provided a religious and ethical foundation for every socio-political change in Aceh.<sup>10</sup> Abidin Nurdin revealed that Aceh ulama's influence on people's lives could be seen from the historical, juridical, and social sides.<sup>11</sup>

Fajri M. Kasim saw the resistance of the Acehnese people to the understanding of religious radicalism in line with the understanding of the Dayah ulama, who had a moderate Islamic understanding (*Rahmatan Lil'âlamîn*).<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, in Hanafiah's view, the Islamic culture developed in the dayah has the potential for an effective social movement in Acehnese society.<sup>13</sup>Nirzalin and Yogi Febriandi have also researched dayah ulama. Using the social

Strategy of GAM," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26, no. 4 (2003): 241–71, https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390209304.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> R. Michael Feener, "Engineering Transformations in the 'Religion-Development Nexus': Islamic Law, Reform, and Reconstruction in Aceh," *Religion* 0, no. 0 (2020): 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2020.1792051.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Khairil Miswar, *Habis Sesat Terbitlah Stres; Fenomena Anti Wahabi Di Aceh*, *Padebooks* (Banda Aceh: Padebooks, 2017), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Muhammad Sahlan et al., "Peran Ulama Dalam Proses Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik Di Aceh," *Society* 7, no. 2 (2019): 271–88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Abidin Nurdin et al., "The Role of Ulama in the Application of Islamic Syariah in Aceh: A Study of Aceh Ulama Council's Fatwa on Apostasies and Heresies," *Mazahib* 17, no. 1 (2018): 46–68, https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v17i1.1022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Fajri M Kasim et al., "A Study of Social Resistance, Religious Radicalism and Thought of Dayah Scholars," *Opcion*, 35, no. 21 (2019): 1107–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Hanafiah Hanafiah, "Dayah Collectively as a Social Movement," *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare* 11, no. 1 (2018): 56–64, https://doi.org/10.1108/IJHRH-08-2017-0034.

capital owned by the Tengku (ulama) dayah, they can unite elements of the same religion.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, Tengku Muhammad Jamil sees the Aceh government's recognition of Aceh's traditional institutions as evidence that Acehnese ulama's existence is essential to the Aceh government.<sup>15</sup>

Based on all the research discussed above, it can be said that the researchers generally researched the dayah ulama in Aceh, namely all scholars, both ulama who did not have dayah and scholars who had dayah. Likewise, the social movements that the dayah ulama did were partial and individualistic. The originality of this research can be seen in the effort to explain the movement of the dayah ulama, who are members of HUDA. This ulama organization is one of the traditionalist Islamic groups in Aceh, which initially aimed to fight for the peace process in Aceh but turned into an ethnoreligious movement. After the conflict ended in Aceh, HUDA was used by the dayah ulama as an organization that maintained its hegemony in the Acehnese people who had long been attached to the dayah ulama.

In this article, the author uses social movement theory to analyze HUDA in preserving the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* and uses the dayah network as the basis for religious movements in Aceh. This article focuses on issues, namely how the dayah ulama use HUDA as networking among the dayah ulama, how the dayah ulama use HUDA to strengthen the hegemony of traditionalist Islam in Aceh, and how the dayah ulama use HUDA as political bargaining with the government to determine the direction of government policy in terms of issues religious.

### Methodology

Qualitative research views the object as something dynamic and intact because every aspect of the object has a unity that cannot be separated. A qualitative approach in this study seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings.<sup>16</sup> This research took place in 5 (five) districts/cities in Aceh; Langsa City, East Aceh District, North Aceh District, Aceh Besar, and Banda Aceh. According to the researcher, these five cities have cultural and religious diversity in implementing the values they believe in and are reflected in every line of life, both in the organization, the intellectual world, and relationships.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Nirzalin and Yogi Febriandi, "Teungku Dayah Agency and Religious Social Capital on Drug Eradication in Aceh, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 23, no. 3 (2020): 210–22, https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.51061.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Tengku Muhammad Jamil, "Overcoming the Social Problems Faced by Contemporary Acehnese through the Social Political Role of Acehnese Clerics (Muslim Scholars)," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 11, no. 1 (2019): 213–33, https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2018-0047.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> H. Lune and B. L. Berg, *Qualitative Research Method for the Social Sciences* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2017), 15.

To get a clear picture of the social movement of the dayah ulama in defending the Ahlusunnâh waljamâah doctrine in Aceh, the researchers conducted field observations by looking directly at the activities of the dayah ulama organizations, both in their paradigmatic development as well as their movements and activities.<sup>17</sup> In addition, in-depth interviews are also a method of this research in exploring and confirming data in the field.<sup>18</sup> In this interview, the researcher used to obtain in-depth information about the concept of the ulama dayah movement in preserving the Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah doctrine in Aceh and the strategies of the dayah ulama in facing the opportunities and challenges of the movement.

In conducting data analysis, researchers used qualitative data analysis. According to Sugiono,<sup>19</sup> there are two stages in conducting qualitative data analysis. *First*, before conducting research, researchers can perform data analysis. The analysis is carried out on the preliminary data to determine the focus of the research and continues to be developed when the researcher conducts the research. *Second*, researchers can analyze data during and after data is collected within a certain period.

In this study, the researcher used the data analysis model developed by Miles and Huberman, namely data reduction, data presentation, and concluding. According to Miles and Huberman, analyzing qualitative data must be interactive and thorough so that the data becomes saturated.<sup>20</sup> This qualitative data analysis model requires the following steps: organizing the data, verifying it into units, synthesizing hypotheses, compiling it into patterns, sorting out the main points, and drawing conclusions.

### **Results and Discussion**

### The Situation of Aceh and the Formation of The HUDA

The formation of the HUDA dayah ulama organization was inseparable from the socio-political conditions of Aceh at that time. At that time, the province of Aceh faced an armed conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which demanded Aceh's independence, and the central government. The GAM was spearheaded by Muhammad Hasan Tiro, proclaimed in Pidie on December 4, 1976<sup>21</sup> and is better known as ASNLF (*Aceh Sumatra National Liberation Front*) in the eyes of the international community. The vertical conflict between the Free

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research 2* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jonathan Smith, *Psikologi Kualitatif: Panduan Praktis Metode Riset*. Translation of *Qualitative Psychology A Practical Guide to Research Method*, ed. Jonathan Smith (Yogjakarta: Pustaka Belajar, 2009), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif Dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education*, Sixth Edit (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Anthony Reid, "War, Peace and the Burden of History in Aceh," *Asian Ethnicity* 5, no. 3 (2004): 301–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/1463136042000259761.

Aceh Movement (GAM) and the central government took a long time, from 29 years from 1976-to 2005.<sup>22</sup> The unfair distribution of natural resources that the Acehnese people are entitled to enjoy, as well as the non-accommodation of the aspirations of the Acehnese people to form a system of government for the Aceh region based on the peculiarities of its cultural and ethnoreligious identity by implementing Islamic law, has caused great disappointment for the people of Aceh.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the policies of the New Order government, which were militaristic and prioritized violence with the DOM military operation, actually made the suffering of the Acehnese people protracted. With the birth of the Dayah Ulama Organization, the Acehnese people hoped it would act as a mediator for the two warring parties.<sup>24</sup>

Together with several ulama organizations that were first born, such as MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah and Ishafuddin, HUDA mediated the conflict in Aceh.<sup>25</sup> HUDA approved the implementation of a referendum that has long been voiced by the people of Aceh with several existing elements such as SIRA (Aceh Referendum Information Center), Students, Rabithah Thalibin and various components of society in Aceh.<sup>26</sup> The demands for a referendum in 1999 were accompanied by several fatwas from HUDA, including not to kill, not intimidate, not plunder other people's property, and not commit acts that violate human rights.<sup>27</sup>

Ulama Dayah took an active role in resolving the conflict in Aceh. After the 1999 referendum, the dayah ulama were also involved by the central government in discussing the draft Special Autonomy Law number 18 of 2001 to reduce conflict in Aceh.<sup>28</sup> The government offered the Special Autonomy Law in the Megawati era, which gave Aceh special autonomy beyond the previous specialties, covering the fields of religion, culture, education, politics, and the economy.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the dayah ulama have a strategic position in resolving conflicts in Aceh.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Shane Joshua Barter, "Resources, Religion, Rebellion: The Sources and Lessons of Acehnese Separatism," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19, no. 1 (2008): 39–61, https://doi.org/10.1080/09592310801905769.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Michelle Ann Miller, "The Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Law: A Serious Response to Acehnese Separatism?," *Asian Ethnicity* 5, no. 3 (2004): 333–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/1463136042000259789.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Aleksius Jemadu, "Democratisation and the Dilemma of Nation building in Post Suharto Indonesia: The Case of Aceh," *Asian Ethnicity* 5, no. 3 (2004): 315–31, https://doi.org/10.1080/1463136042000259770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh," 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Firdaus, 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Sahlan et al., "Peran Ulama Dalam Proses Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik Di Aceh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Sahlan et al.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Suadi Zainal, "Transformasi Konflik Aceh Dan Relasi Sosial-Politik Di Era Desentralisasi," *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi* 21, no. 1 (2016): 81–08, https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v21i1.4757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Rasyidin, "The Social Political Role of Muslim Scholars (Ulamas) in the Acehnese Society," *Journal of Global Responsibility* 12, no. 1 (2021): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1108/JGR-10-2018-0040.

When there was a peace agreement in Helsinki between GAM and the Government of Indonesia, HUDA also took part in this important event. HUDA, which initially supported the referendum, did not waste it when GAM and the Government of Indonesia made peace efforts in Helsinki.<sup>31</sup> The concrete step taken by HUDA was to send one of HUDA's administrators to Helsinki, namely Tgk. Zarkasyi Abdul Wahid to attend the Helsinki MoU signing process.<sup>32</sup> The Helsinki MoU is a social contract between GAM and the Government of Indonesia which regulates the reconciliation and reintegration of GAM members into Acehnese society and stipulates the specifics for Aceh.<sup>33</sup> HUDA's involvement in peace negotiations between Indonesia and Aceh proved that the dayah ulama were still respected and respected by GAM, the government, and the community because of their charisma and ability to establish good relations with various parties, especially with GAM leaders and military officers serving in the Aceh military.

HUDA was also directly involved in drafting the draft UUPA (Aceh Government Law). This UUPA is a manifestation of the Helsinki MoU, ratified in 2006 under the Aceh Governance Law (UUPA) Number 11 of 2006.<sup>34</sup> In preparing this initial draft of the UUPA, HUDA held several seminars by inviting several experts in their field to capture various aspirations and were recommended in the draft UUPA. From several proposals, proposals regarding the application of Islamic law, maintaining a peaceful situation, and maintaining customs can be accommodated in the UUPA.<sup>35</sup>

People's expectations of HUDA are still high because the Tengku who join HUDA are dayah leaders scattered throughout the districts/cities in Aceh. Therefore, it is not tricky for HUDA to promote peace throughout Aceh by utilizing the Tengku dayah network. In the HUDA Mubes (Musyawarah Besar) on March 3, 2007, three main points were out of the sixteen points produced by Commission C to maintain peace in Aceh. Point number one states that HUDA expresses a sense of *teurimong geunaseh Nyang that lambong* (profound gratitude) to the Indonesian government and GAM for reaching the peace agreement in Helsinki on August 15, 2005, and fully supports the implementation of the peace agreement to achieve lasting peace in Indonesia. Aceh. The second point is that HUDA fully supports and perpetuates the implementation of the peace agreement clauses contained in the Helsinki MoU in the corridors of the Republic of Indonesia. The third point is that HUDA hopes the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Iskandar Zulkarnaen and Ella Suzanna, "Aceh: Conflict Development after the Helsinki Agreement," *Emerald Reach Proceedings Series* 1, no. 1 (2018): 589–93, https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-78756-793-1-00095.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Khairul Ikramatoun, Siti Amin, "Konstelasi Politik Aceh Pasca MoU Helsinki (2006-2015)," *Jurnal Sosiologi USK (Media Pemikiran & Aplikasi)* 12, no. 1 (2018): 89–10, https://doi.org/ 10.24815/jsu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Zainal, "Transformasi Konflik Aceh Dan Relasi Sosial-Politik Di Era Desentralisasi."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Feener, "Engineering Transformations in the 'Religion-Development Nexus': Islamic Law, Reform, and Reconstruction in Aceh."

government will complete the UUPA by the Helsinki MoU as soon as possible. From these three crucial points, it is clear that HUDA has a high commitment to maintaining and caring for the peaceful atmosphere that has been created in Aceh.<sup>36</sup>

# HUDA as a Social Movement in Preserving The Doctrine of Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah

Dayah has excellent potential for social movements. This potential can be found in the ulama or figures in the dayah and the culture of the dayah, which makes the ulama the central figure as a driving factor for social change. According to Grant Samkin, six factors can influence social change: (1) information dissemination. Media is vital in delivering messages or ideas (thoughts); (2) capital. What is meant by capital here is human resources or financial capital; (3) technology (4) ideology or religion. (5) bureaucracy, which relates to government policies in building its power; (6) Characters or actors.<sup>37</sup>

The ulama dayah formed HUDA as social actors capable of mobilizing resources. Social movement scholars define *resource mobilization theory* as "a collective means or vehicle, both formal and informal, by which people are mobilized and actively involved in collective action.<sup>38</sup> This theory emphasizes social support and barriers to the phenomenon of collective action. This approach relates to the diversity of resources that must be capitalized to maintain the continuity of collective action, the movement's dependence on external support, and the anticipated strategies used by the regime to control and stifle collective action.

Charles Tilly emphasized that one of the primary forms of resource in social movements is the informal and formal networks that link individuals and movement organizations.<sup>39</sup> The term "network" refers to a social structure, a set of social relationships that encourage a person's behavior, attitudes, and possibilities to take action. Klandermans said leadership was critical in creating mobilization resources for the participants in the action.<sup>40</sup> Wijethilake distinguishes resources into two categories, namely *tangible or intangible* (money, space,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh," 336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Grant Samkin and Christa Wingard, "Understanding Systemic Change in the Context of the Social and Environmental Disclosures of a Conservation Organisation in a Developing Country," *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* 34, no. 5 (2020): 1–30, https://doi.org/10.1108/AAAJ-05-2019-4010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> David Pettinicchio, "Elites, Policy, and Social Movements," *Research in Political Sociology* 24, no. 1 (2017): 155–90, https://doi.org/10.1108/S0895-993520160000024006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Marc W. Steinberg and Patricia Ewick, "The Work Stories Do: Charles Tilly's Legacy on the Provision of Reasons, Storytelling, and Trust in Contentious Performances," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 35, no. 1 (2013): 147–73, https://doi.org/10.1108/S0163-786X(2013)0000035011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Jacquelien van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, "The Social Psychology of Protest," *Current Sociology* 61, no. 5–6 (2013): 886–905, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479314.

equipment) and *intangible* (managerial leadership capacity and organizational experience, ideological justification, and tactics).<sup>41</sup>

For analysis in this study, researchers will exclude labor categories, and the legitimacy of the types of resource mobilization carried out by HUDA. However, the researcher will enter the category of "santri or students" because HUDA is an informal organization with resources in the form of students who have spread throughout Aceh, and the role of these students has a very significant role in their collective actions. Next, the researcher will explain the immaterial resource mobilization category, which includes the following aspects: (1) formal and informal organization; (2) networking; (3) leadership; (4) ideological justification; and (5) tactics.<sup>42</sup>

HUDA in building social movements always uses two ways, namely informal and formal organizations. *First,* through informal organizations. In order to maintain the doctrine of Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah, HUDA carries out what is called *intellectual chains* or gynecological knowledge. Each dayah agent or actor must build a dayah in the residence of the santri when he returns to his village. In addition, several scholars who are members of HUDA form a kind of association or recitation group to introduce the teachings of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* to the public. Thus there will be a hegemony of traditionalist Islam in Aceh because most of the Acehnese people will embrace the understanding of Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah. *Second,* through formal organizations, namely using the HUDA organization formally in voicing the aspirations of the ulama in order to maintain the Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah doctrine. The HUDA ulama used the organization to conduct political bargaining with the Aceh government either through the MPU or as government partners in managing the Acehnese people.

### HUDA and Networking between The Dayah Scholars

One of the social movements carried out by dayah scholars is the formation *of intellectual chains* of unbroken Dayah can be said to be Aceh's local wisdom which has strong roots and is proven to exist. As an Islamic educational institution. Dayah in Aceh's history begins with establishing two Islamic educational institutions during Sultan Alaidin Sayed Maulana Abbas Syah in the Perlak kingdom currently in East Aceh. The first is Zawiyah Aziziyah, located in Buket Cibrek, now called Teumpeuen village, to be precise, in the year 250 H/865

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Chaminda Wijethilake and Athula Ekanayake, "Proactive Strategic Responses to Corporate Sustainability Pressures: A Sustainability Control System Framework," *Advances in Management Accounting* 30, no. 1 (2018): 129–73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Erich J. Sommerfeldt, "Online Power Resource Management: Activist Resource Mobilization, Communication Strategy, and Organizational Structure," *Journal of Public Relations Research* 25, no. 4 (2013): 347–67, https://doi.org/10.1080/1062726X.2013.806871.

H. The second is Zawiyah Cot Kala, located in Aramiyah, now known as Bayeuen. Zawiyah Cot Kala was founded in 285/899 H.<sup>43</sup>

Dayah is an indigenous educational institution with an educational concept that aims to produce quality scholars. In a broader context, Dayah not only presents itself as an indigenous educational institution but also has the potential to be a natural, internal, and planned factor of social change for the dayah in Aceh.<sup>44</sup> The Dayah as a social institution has a well-established intellectual relationship between one dayah and another so that developments and changes that occur in the natural dayah environment can simultaneously describe the intellectual history of traditional Islam in Aceh.

The genealogy of religious knowledge among HUDA scholars is solid. In intellectual genealogy, the HUDA scholars have an estuary to one prominent scholar in Labuhan Haji, namely Shaykh Muda Waly Al-Halidi, the founder of *Dayah Bustanul Muhaqqiqin Darussalam Labuhan Haji, West Aceh*. Until now, the HUDA ulema positioned the dayah as a medium for transferring religious knowledge to the Acehnese people. This strength lies in the leadership of the dayah and the HUDA administrator. They include Tgk. H. Hasanoel Basri HG (Abu Mudi) as leader of Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga, (current Chairman of HUDA), Tgk. Bulqaini Tanjungan, leader of Markaz Al-Ishlah Aziziyah, (Secretary General of HUDA), Tgk. H. Muhammad Amin (Tumin), leader of Dayah Madinatuddiniyah Babussalam Blang Bladeh (Founder of HUDA), Tgk. H. Usman Kuta Krueng, leader of Dayah Al Munawarah Kuta Krueng, Ule Gle, Pidie Jaya, (Founder of HUDA), Tgk. H. Asnawi Ramli, leader of Dayah Bahrul Ulum Diniyah Islamiyah (BUDI), Indrajaya, Aceh Jaya (Chairman of HUDA), and Tgk. Nuruzzahri (Waled Nu), leader of Dayah Ummul Ayman Samalanga (founder of HUDA). Some of the names and dayah above show that HUDA has excellent power in developing and maintaining the dayah as a center for religious knowledge in Aceh.<sup>45</sup>

From the explanation above, it can be said that the *meugure* tradition has become a hereditary culture for the people of Aceh. In the view of the people of Aceh, a person is only helpful and functional in society if he has ever submitted a request to ulama in dayah. Some great leaders, there are always teachers behind them who direct and transfer knowledge and wisdom from the outer to the inner. This fact is a factor that learning is so important. In the *meugure tradition*, students are directed to understand Burhani and Bayani knowledge and 'Irfan' aspects. When these epistemological aspects are controlled by students or santri, they will be released into society to become "guardians" of people's lives.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Mashuri Mashuri, "Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Islam Di Dayah," *Jurnal Ilmiah Didaktika* 13, no. 2 (2013): 259–70, https://doi.org/10.22373/jid.v13i2.477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, Dan Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: Desantara, 2001), 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh," 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad and M.H. Aminruddin, Ulama, Separatisme, Dan Radikalisme

The dayah ulama created its network, and dayah graduate after dayah graduate established dayahs throughout Aceh. The tradition of studying with Tengku dayah emphasizes how science is developed in Aceh. This intellectual network can still be felt today. The forms of the ulama network occur and are primarily determined by the dayah graduate. Dayah dayah graduates are essential in forming a network of scholars in society. Dayah graduates or santri become decisive actors in disseminating and socializing the ulama network. When dayah graduates open a new recitation or dayah in their area, they will label the place's name or new dayah with a name that refers to the main dayah. For example, if a dayah graduates of the Budi Mesra Dayah, at the end of the new dayah's name, add Aziziyah as a characteristic of the Budi Mesra Dayah. Likewise, the Ruhul Fata Seulimum Dayah in Aceh Besar is one of the largest dayahs in Aceh Besar. The dayah graduate who set up the dayah in other places will add Fata's name behind the new dayah they have founded. Adding the name proves that the dayah graduate admires and maintains the network with their respective dayahs.<sup>47</sup>

### HUDA and Traditionalist Islamic Hegemony in The Aceh

Understanding of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah*, or traditionalist understanding, is embraced by most of the Acehnese people who were brought by previous scholars from Arab lands.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the theology of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah is* taught and embraced by the Dayah community.<sup>49</sup> They adhered to *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* and disseminated the theology of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* to all Acehnese people.<sup>50</sup> Today the term has become the most crucial label to justify the existence of a group among the majority of Muslims in Aceh.

The Dayah ulama used the HUDA Organization to strengthen brotherhood among dayah scholars in Aceh and as a tool to hegemony the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* in Aceh. In the field of fiqh, HUDA adheres to the Shafi'î Madhhab, which the community has embraced since the Aceh Kingdom. In monotheism, HUDA strictly adheres to the Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah concepts. At the same time, Sufism refers to Junaid Baghdadi or al-Ghazali.

In addition to the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* sect, in Aceh there is also a Wahhabi-Salafi sect. According to historical records, the entry of Wahhabis into Aceh occurred around 1939 through the organization formed by Tengku Muhammad Daud Beureueh, namely

*Di Aceh, Kaukaba* (Banda Aceh: Kaukaba, 2013), https://www.academia.edu/ 9700883/Ulama\_ Separatisme\_dan\_Radikalisme\_di\_Aceh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Nurlaila and Zulihafnani, "Pengaruh Fatwa Ulama Dayah Dalam Masyarakat Aceh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, "Akar-Akar Tradisi Politik Sunni Di Indonesia (Kajian Pada Masa Kerajaan Islam Di Nusantara)," *Alqalam* 26, no. 2 (2009): 171–92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Saifuddin Dhuhri, "The Text of Conservatism: The Role of Abbas' Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamâ'ah in Underpinning Acehnese Current Religious Violence," *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 1 (2016): 29–59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Dhuhri, 57.

the All Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA).<sup>51</sup> According to Khairil Miswar,<sup>52</sup> ideologically, if one examines carefully, PUSA's religious thought has many similarities (not to mention identical) with the thoughts developed by Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century.

Aceh is an adherent of the doctrine *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* was disturbed by the presence of modernist ulama in PUSA who carried the Wahhabi-style understanding of Islamic renewal by collaborating with Acehnese authorities who wanted to eliminate the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* faith which the Acehnese had embraced for hundreds of years. With a joint call or "Joint Declaration" signed by the PUSA management and Acehnese businessmen, the reformer group removed all practices that were considered heretical by them. To smoothen their activities, it is not uncommon for them to carry out violence and cruelty by arresting several Dayah clerics and even being killed by DI/TII armed groups.<sup>53</sup>

The contestation between *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* and Wahhabis in Aceh had dimmed in the 90s because Aceh was in conflict. However, after the tsunami on December 26, 2004, and peace between the central government and GAM in 2005, the issue of Wahhabism reemerged along with the increasing number of different schools of understanding about Islam entering Aceh. The re-emergence of Wahhabis in Aceh was marked by the emergence of more and more recitation groups which the Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah group later indicted as a Wahhabi recitation group. The climax occurred in 2015 when thousands of masses from the Acehnese Dayah ulama staged a large demonstration against the presence of Wahhabis in Aceh.<sup>54</sup>

The rejection of the people of Aceh towards the Wahhabi-Salafi sect has recently become more prevalent. The last case occurred, the rejection of the people of Aceh against Ustadz Firanda Andirja Abidin at the Al-Fitrah Mosque in Ketapang Village, Banda Aceh, because he was suspected to be a Wahhabis,<sup>55</sup> the rejection of the ustadz who was accused of being a Wahhabi previously also happened to Ustadz Farhan who lecture at Mushalla Zainoel Abidin General Hospital (RSUDZA) Lampriet, Banda Aceh,<sup>56</sup> and the burning of the Muhammadiyah mosque in Bireun district.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Edward Aspinall, "From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia," *Nations and Nationalism* 13, no. 2 (2007): 245–63, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00277.x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Miswar, Habis Sesat Terbitlah Stres; Fenomena Anti Wahabi Di Aceh, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Miswar, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Chiara Formichi, "Becoming Better Muslims: Religious Authority and Ethical Improvement in Aceh, Indonesia," *South East Asia Research* 27, no. 4 (2019): 441–43, https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828x.2019.1664823.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Nirzalin and Yogi Febriandi, "Aswaja Mobilization And Intolerance/ : Sub-State Ideology, Religious Vigilantism in Aceh, Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2022): 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2089382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Nirzalin and Febriandi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Iqbal Muhtarom, "Pembakaran Masjid Muhammadiyah Di Aceh Dipicu Isu Wahabi,"

Some of the cases above prove that the people of Aceh have not accepted the presence of Wahabi-Salafi in Aceh Province and, at the same time, prove that the people of Aceh still follow the traditional understanding of Islam driven by the dayah ulama.<sup>58</sup> Theologically, most Acehnese adheres to the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* doctrine, which was developed by the ulama and occupied the forefront in spreading the values of unity in Islam and upholding the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* doctrine.

### HUDA and Bargaining Political with the Government.

The dayah ulama formed HUDA to become a mediator for the two groups in the conflict between GAM and the Indonesian government. So when the peace agreement between GAM and the Government of Indonesia took place in Helsinki, Finland, HUDA took the initiative to send one of the HUDA administrators to Helsinki, namely Tgk. Zarkasyi Abdul Wahid to attend the signing of the Helsinki MoU.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, when the Aceh government was working on the drafting of the draft UUPA as the embodiment of the Helsinki MoU, which was ratified in 2006 under the name UUPA Number 11 of 2006,<sup>60</sup> HUDA also took on the role of one of the clerical organizations directly involved in the drafting. From the several cases above, it shows that HUDA had *a positioning* and *bargaining* position in the Aceh government because, at that time, the ulama were the only reconciliation actors or figures whom the Acehnese people could trust.<sup>61</sup>

Political bargaining between ulama and the government can also be seen in the Aceh Government Regulations (Qanun) Number 8 of 2014 concerning the Principles of Islamic Shari'a. The Qanun explains that in the field of the doctrine adopted by the people of Aceh is, the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* based on the Qur'an and As-Sunnah and makes the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* the basis of all forms of activities, attitudes, views, and guidelines for people's lives.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* doctrine is also contained in MPU Fatwa Number 09 of 2014. The fatwa explains that understanding, thoughts, experiences, and broadcasting of Islam in Aceh must be based

Tempo.co, 2017, accessed January 17, 2022. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1026032/pemba-karan-masjid-muhammadiyah-di-aceh-dipicu-isu-wahabi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Yogi Setya Permana, "Subnational Sectarianisation: Clientelism, Religious Authority, and Intra-Religious Rivalry in Aceh," *Religion, State and Society* 49, no. 2 (2021): 142–56, https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2021.1881392.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Firdaus, "Peran Organisasi Teungku Dayah Dalam Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Aceh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Zainal, "Transformasi Konflik Aceh Dan Relasi Sosial-Politik Di Era Desentralisasi."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Sahlan et al., "Peran Ulama Dalam Proses Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik Di Aceh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2014 concerning the Principles of Islamic Sharia was ratified by the Governor of Aceh on October 22, 2014.

on the *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* doctrine.<sup>63</sup> The two Aceh government regulations prove that the ulama in Aceh still have *positioning* and *bargaining* position in the Aceh government.

*The political exchange* between the Acehnese dayah ulama and the government was also seen with the issuance of a Circular, issued by the PLT governor of Aceh on December 13, 2019, which was addressed to regents/mayors throughout Aceh, heads of SKPA and Kakanwil Ministries/Non-Ministries of Aceh Province, number 450/21770. In the circular letter, the Governor of Aceh prohibited community organizations from holding recitations/ studies other than the teachings of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* and other than the Syafi'iyah School.<sup>64</sup> The issuance of the circular letter from the Aceh government indicates the existence *of bargaining* held by the ulama in Aceh and, at the same time, indicates that the Acehnese ulama have carried out their functions as actors or figures who are responsible for the traditional Islamic hegemony in Aceh.

### Conclusion

The above description shows that the dayah ulama still play their hegemony in Aceh. This phenomenon can be seen in the current religious condition of the Acehnese people. Until now, the dayah ulama are still actors in the socio-religious movement in Aceh. This phenomenon strengthens Collins' view. According to Collins, social movements from Islamic organizations can show their existence at the local and national levels. Dayah, with its solid Islamic culture, made it possible to create a social movement by utilizing the dayah ulama as agents of the social movement. The ability of the dayah as a social movement does not only occur in Aceh. It has even been tested at the Indonesian state and nation level. The emergence of the democratic process in Indonesia, driven by the Islamic community that adheres to democratic values as a religious doctrine, is proof of the ability of the ulama to carry out social movements.

The birth of the HUDA and its collective action prove the latest trends among ulama about social movements played by the Aceh ulama using an integral and comprehensive approach or theory about social movements, especially political perspectives. Opportunity structure, resource mobilization, and framing of collective action.

With the Social movement, HUDA can preserve the doctrine of *Ahlussunnâh Waljamâah* by building *networking* among Dayah scholars so that there is a genealogy of knowledge among Dayah scholars in Aceh. In addition, HUDA is used by Dayah scholars to strengthen the hegemony of traditional Islam as a group with religious authority amid the rise of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Look at the Fatwa of the Aceh Ulama Consultative Council (MPU) Number 09 of 2014 concerning the understanding, thoughts, experiences and broadcasting of Islam in Aceh, which was endorsed by the MPU Leader Drs. Mr. H. Gazali Mohd. Syam, on June 25, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Nirzalin and Febriandi, "Aswaja Mobilization And Intolerance/: Sub-State Ideology, Religious Vigilantism in Aceh, Indonesia."

Wahhabi-Salafi sects in Aceh, and Dayah scholars use HUDA as *bargaining* political with the government to determine the direction of government policy on religious issues.

Finally, this research has limitations on the socio-religious movement carried out by the dayah ulama. The researcher hopes there will be further research on the hegemony of the dayah ulama in Aceh using other theories to produce comprehensive findings about the hegemony of the Acehnese dayah ulama.

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